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/For information on shamanism and stories illustrating shamanism, see category 116, pp. 539-594, and pp. 661-692./

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beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are believed to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all other worlds it has a sun above it,[2] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the droning of two *Aiiłäxa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any visible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *sniniq*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[1] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[1] One informant stated that our sun served that purpose.
[2] The *Aiiłäxa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *Xɨnxɨnes*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Sī'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Sī'iswai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālyam*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaas dī Ano'likwolsaix*,

[4] Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home when he was a young lad although members of the *kusiut* society (II, chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter.

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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought.

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this:

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

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over, he is aware that by certain means he may have good expectations of beseeching, cajoling, deceiving, or rendering powerless any supernatural beings whom he may meet. This attitude is typical; the Bella Coola by no means move in constant dread of the mysterious denizens of the forests, nor do they eagerly hope for their appearance; they have their likes and dislikes, their moments of weakness and of strength, their times of greatness and of pettiness, all to be considered with care and forethought.

One of the beings for whom the older people have a profound respect is *Ťlitcāplilān-a*, a supernatural woman whose home is in *Nusmāt-a*, but who frequently visits this earth. She can be recognized by her snout-like mouth and long, pendant breasts, but even when beyond the range of vision her proximity can be detected by her singing. *Ťlitcāplilān-a* often takes pity on a person who is dangerously ill and visits him, not only curing the malady but bringing the sufferer a name and song. In many cases he is thus made a shaman with power to cure. At other times *Ťlitcāplilān-a* bestows her favours on a person in good health, so that wise Bella Coola are always hoping to meet her. Such an experience is not without its dangers, for she is so powerful that nearness to her may be enough to cause death. The exploits of those who have come in contact with *Ťlitcāplilān-a* belong to shamanism and will be reserved for vol. I, chap. IX.

Ťlitcāplilān-a, though her great power inspires fear, usually behaves in a kindly manner to mortals, who accordingly welcome her. But it is quite otherwise with *Snaiarwax*, whose coming almost invariably brings death.[11] He is a black-faced being of repulsive appearance and sensual nature, whose chief function is to seduce women. For this purpose he often skulks near a village at night, and assumes the voice and appearance of a girl's lover to lure her into the forest. Fearlessly she goes with him, but if she allows his approaches, a hemorrhage results and she soon dies. There is said to be no limit to the number

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 42.

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of his disguises. For example, he once appeared at New Westminster in the form of a handsome white man; a Bella Coola girl yielded to his pleadings, but as soon as he had left her, she began to bleed and died.[11] He is so evil that shamans can rarely cure anyone visited by him. *Sxaiaxwax* usually carries a stick which he need only to point at a woman to cause her death.

Nor are men exempt from *Sxaiaxwax*'s visitations. Sometimes he sneaks up behind a man and seizes his arms, so that he cannot see who has gripped him. He is soon released but no matter how quickly he turns around can never see his captor. Presently he begins to bleed from mouth and nose and death follows. *Sxaiaxwax* may become visible under such conditions. One old man stated that his son had once been playing outside the village at Kimsquit when he rushed into the house weeping and saying that he had been seized by a black-faced man. In a few minutes his nose began to bleed so that his father knew it was *Sxaiaxwax* who had visited him. Nothing was of any avail and the lad died. His approach is usually heralded by a series of grunting, explosive puffs, like those of a big bear rising sulkily. If, warned by the sound, the hearer turn sharply, he can escape danger. An informant described how, when camped on Labouchere Channel, he had once gone to the river for water with two companions, a man and a woman. They all heard these gasping puffs and turned, but he alone had jumped from the path quickly enough. The other two began to pant like *Sxaiaxwax* himself; blood gushed from their mouths and genital organs and they soon died.

Like other supernatural beings, *Sxaiaxwax* has his limitations. Though he comes to this earth he can travel only on fixed paths, invisible to mortals. If either man or a woman is unfortunate enough to fall asleep on one of these tracks, it is

[11] A curious blending of aboriginal and white man's belief was recorded in connection with this incident. It is said that as the girl's lover left her, carrying his hat in his hand, she saw two horns rising from his forehead and realized that her lover had been *Sxaiaxwax*.

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easy for *Sxaiaxwax* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. IX.

Although *Sxaiaxwax* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old.

Less feared than *Sxaiaxwax*, because he appears less frequently, is *Allät·iaiutl*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit.[1] The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nusmät·a*.

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nusmät·a*, is *Sä·lma*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Sä·lma* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner.

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually

[1] See vol. I, pp. 94-7.

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including the dreaded point, Mesatche Nose, in human form. As each came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last *Ḵomoqwa* and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives.

Though *Ḵomoqwa* is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about *Ḵomoqwa* than they do, since he is essentially an ocean being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that *Ḵomoqwa* seldom appears in connection with the *kusiut* society, but frequently with the *nusuk* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella.

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Nᵉᵋkynum*,[11] the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Alquntăm* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Nᵉᵋkynum* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *kusiut* dances. He is one of the most important of *kusiut* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 46.

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subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Winuina*.[1] It, too, brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *ɬuɬiut* dancers. Although both *Noɔ̄kɣnum* and *Winuina* can easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Winuina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *ɬuɬiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winɔ̄s di Sā-lidjo-ɬ*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winɔ̄s di Qala*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sala-af'*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sala-af'*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Sala-af'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from *Sala-af'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has happened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore

[1] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

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walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are generally feared, although instances are known in which they have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as patrons of *kusiut* dancers (see vol. II, chap. 1). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life after death.

Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source. For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be *Qomcqa*, a supernatural being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[19]

[19] Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1923. What most impressed the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Klamath man, for example,

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776 825 [773] forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they see no reason to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Älquntäm*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Älquntäm* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snuix*, *snunq*, and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear men, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of men in combat with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability; whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Älquntäm*. Likewise, when a *snuix* or a *snunq* is outwitted by the use of soiled clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unnatural to it, are natural to the human being employing them. Men and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

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In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human mentality, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

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men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Alquntăm* gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on. When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings, they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow, of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own shamans, grizzly bear, *snung*, and wolverine; these three also dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously together in that other part of their life which only shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey. The animals know about the actions of human beings and show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example, they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelligible without understanding the attitude of the people to the animal and bird kingdoms.

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of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *nuwakmdz*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *sisat*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Alquntâm* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has become inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit [illegible] every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

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becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 730) can return one, and if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter. They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he learns what is missing, and steps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During *hamat'* dances (II, chap. i), the uninitiated are told that if they enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and extracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it. The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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that tally pests have mentality, and suggested that it might be done which around the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *paxtlaxtu* to serve for removal from the accounts of tally pests. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *paxtlaxtu* has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nusmis-a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally pests is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *paxtlaxtu* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally pest, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and the an invisible and incorporeal possession which goes in front of him, is due to the recent decay of ancient conceptions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

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Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability to put their souls-hairs, both tangible (I, p. 360) and immaterial, in tune with *Alqunitse's* in the land above. One method of courting a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water and sand used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Alqunitse's* own basin. Such feats are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Alqalpbalain*.

It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Procurement

Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

Prayers are regularly addressed to *Alqunitse* who, in this connection, is known as *Mesulaiit* or *Tiit*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mesulaiit* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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next day the weather was fine. This particular method of praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the beginning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family. With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grandfather of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire tithes of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Masstchi Nose,

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Thtsáplilèn·a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Thtsáplilèn·a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Thtsáplilèn·a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Thtsáplilèn·a*.

Monakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Alquntám*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw

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775 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
782 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Awaklálimut kuspe*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[752] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [753] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [719] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. xi).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

784 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
785 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *continence*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

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551 with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function,
421 but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or *vice versa*, in some cases with a minor alteration. The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by [956] shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

551 Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a
773 number of designations from above, but they also created a
553 number on this earth and bestowed them on their children, and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost parental interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to hereafter as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

553 Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

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[1] Such a name is a *sunkla skaumen*, or "Purified Name."
[2] Such a name is a *sumaiut a skaumen*, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was hereditary on any particular relative.

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A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

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At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

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Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

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The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch rites calls for necessary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial sound knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches immediately after the deliver of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *sxeiăx*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combine the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all residents within, or at least prevent them receiving payments of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 783

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [787] [756] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the latter who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

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CAUSES OF DEATH

961 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life.

961 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are 776 drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere accident—it is because *Tsmoqwa* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sē'ēma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in 953 the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the supernatural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas [755] a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [795] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [726]

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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability.

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Alquntäm* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Pottlc*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sung*ᵉ itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours.

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable.

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean-

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day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival, and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been held, it is hopeless to attempt to rescue a dead person, although that has been done several times during the four days immediately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to peer down into the land of the dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural, can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter cowers in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their omission. If the relations of a dead person have failed to burn all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them, through a shaman, of the omission. The house is scoured for anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk, although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowling around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given

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to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible, and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, robbed of his booty, beats the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has been an accident or a seizure. Another indication of a ghost's hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy that a dieing mother was once allowed to send her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.[1] Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and growl fiercely at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

[1] This story is recorded in detail here (I, p. 99).

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dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it to the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, conceal their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Sxdin-i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo-qua-i*, was encamped at *Tsetsuwats* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her side. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and Sxdin-i experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as I had thought, but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers to have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to leave the room. The body is buried with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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from ghosts, and for four days feeds them lavishly. On the fifth morning they proceed to the grave, accompanied by kinsmen of the deceased, and pound on the ground with sticks, asking the dead person whether or not he had been murdered, and if so, the name of the murderer. It is said that in former times the voice of the deceased could always be plainly heard giving the desired information. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years, and exact details are not known by any of the living Bella Coola. It seems clear that ventriloquism must have been employed, requiring active deception on the part of the shamans.

It was difficult to ascertain to what extent shamans believed in their own powers to understand the speech of ghosts. There is no doubt that the Bella Coola are easily influenced by suggestion, and if an individual is told that he has received help from a ghost, it is not difficult for him to believe that such has been the case. Further, his fellows are convinced of his powers, a circumstance which does not fail to affect him. It may be stated definitely that in many cases shamans have some confidence in their own powers, although they do not hesitate to use deception to increase their prestige. This point will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

ACCOUNTS OF EXPERIENCES WITH GHOSTS

Much of the information concerning ghosts is contained in stories which have been handed down for generations and which are regarded as historical records. Some of these must be deferred to the chapters on folk-lore and shamanism, but the following are sufficient to explain the source of many Bella Coola beliefs on this subject.[49]

A Rescue from Ghosts

Long, long ago, there lived a little girl who used to cry incessantly. One evening when she was disturbing the whole household by weeping, her father said angrily to her:

[49] These stories have been included at this point as specific illustrations of the type of legend upon which generalized beliefs depend.

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past.

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories:

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qaw ałałaxwaḥaiaic*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has unreservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well.

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources:

(a) *Tlᵘxᵘpᵘlitx* or some other supernatural being.

(b) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural.

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence.

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when

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sick, and gives the person securing it ability to treat the same disease in others.

(7) Dreams, especially those in which supernatural apparitions visit the sleeper.

Sterile Apparitions[1]

The most common sterile apparitions are those of a stone giving birth to a smaller stone, a tree falling almost to earth, then righting itself, or the sight of some enormous monster. Such an experience may come to anyone, and no one can tell what it may portend. The following examples will illustrate this kind of phenomenon. In accordance with Bella Coola usage, these are recorded as if actual facts.

Between 1890 and 1900 a number of men were paddling home to Bella Coola one fine October day when, as they were passing beneath some precipitous rocks to the west of Kwatna Inlet, they saw a giant, as big as a medium-sized tree, come leaping down into the sea. They could not see his face, which was turned in the opposite direction, but as he sprang they noticed that his hands were shaking like a dancer's. He struck the water with a tremendous splash, hurling the spray a distance of a hundred yards, and nearly swamping the canoe. They realized that the being must be a *cwaxy*, since it is well known that these creatures migrate to the mountain lakes for the summer and return to the ocean in the autumn.

Since there is a tendency for supernatural apparitions to appear in close succession, the paddlers were little surprised next day, as they passed near some flat rocks where seals were wont to sun themselves, to see a number of these animals come hurtling down from among the trees on the slope of a near-by mountain. The last to appear was as big as a grizzly bear. Undoubtedly the creatures were supernatural beasts that had assumed the form of seals. It had been a fine, clear day, but as soon as they had taken to the water such a severe storm arose that the canoe was almost engulfed.

[1] [i.e. - appearances of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. - See cat. #6, p. 317 - Analyst]

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in a kind of a cave. He here unties the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open fiord where he is picked up by a waiting canoe. 778 755

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish about seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is forced through the entrance from the fiord, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance. [781]*

The method of curing at the spot, *Hkiwas*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 8) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository. [756]

At *xqulaw* the virulent skin disease *ilokly* can be cured." This is caused by a morsel of cohoe salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and bringing down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the eyes and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the *only hope is to visit xqulaw*. [759] [824] [753] [752]

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

*In the earlier stages it can be treated elsewhere.

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the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, *must have been dreams*, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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ling X, the monster carried away the girl. X watched and knew that it must have taken her life; so it transpired, for in the morning she was found dead. The black being did not reappear the following night.

X soon became fat and well, to the surprise of all, and many of the chiefs asked him to give a shaman's dance. He declined, not having received name, instructions, song, or tangible object from the white, supernatural being who had befriended him. He did not even know his benefactor's name.

At intervals during his life-time, X has seen the white supernatural being and, more rarely, the black one in his dreams. The most vivid occasion was when he heard a sound in the attic of his house and climbed up outside to investigate. The ladder broke, precipitating him through an unglazed window into the loft with a broken leg. All night he lay there in agony, and it was not until the next day that his friends were able to lower him in a sling and take him to *Kimsquit* en route to the hospital at Bella Bella. Their departure was delayed by a storm and as X lay suffering he told his wife that it would have been better if he had broken his neck instead of his leg. That night, while half-asleep, the world again became open to him and he saw the black creature come bounding along the trail towards him; it entered the house, jumped around him, and finally leapt into his body. He called to his wife to burn dried salmon beneath his bed to expel the evil monster; this had the desired effect though he did not see its actual departure. The next night the white apparition came to him, telling him that he had erred seriously in wishing for death, that one should accept what was in store for one and not oppose *Alquntim*'s wishes. The being went on to say that it was wicked to prepare too far in advance, and intimated that X's misfortune was the result of having made ready tools for clearing an unnecessary tract of land.[19]

The white being has even appeared during his waking hours. On one occasion he felt it coming when he was in the mission-house, where the missionary was writing a letter for him. Although still invisible, X knew what was approaching and tried to close the door but he was helpless. In came the apparition, at sight of whom X swayed so violently that the missionary asked what was the matter. It went away again in a moment, leaving X shaken and bathed in perspiration.

The experiences just described lie on the border-line between dream and vision. X has frequently seen the apparition

[19] This occurred during the first war, and X remembered having heard that the Germans had laid up stores of munitions. He concluded that this must be evil and that they would fail accordingly. He repeated this statement on many occasions and claims to have foretold the result of the war from his vision.

1:McDowell B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

and that his mother stated that all her ancestors had done likewise.

Another instance of advice conveyed in this manner was told by a Kimsquit man who related that a number of years ago a pregnant woman had dreamed that *Alqunxiw* appeared to her and told her not to destroy what she would presently bear. In due course she was delivered, but the infant was a repulsive cripple, blind and deformed. Remembering the admonition, the mother refused to slay her child as many of her friends advised. Soon it was apparent that he was supernaturally endowed; as proof of this he repeated comments which had been made to his mother within a few minutes of his birth. As he grew older he developed shamanistic powers so that he was able to converse with the dead, the only instance known of this ability being granted from birth. He also had wonderful talent as a singer and, though he must have died about 1850, the Bella Coola still recount his skill in this respect. He would unquestionably have been killed but for his mother's warning.

Instead of imparting verbal information, dreams frequently foretell the future by means of images of events about to happen. For example, if a man dreams of owning large numbers of pelts, it signifies that he will have success in hunting, and he starts for his trap-line without delay. So, too, warnings are conveyed. A number of years ago a slave woman of *Snxul*, who was not a member of the *Snxiat* society, dreamt that she saw herself bitten in many places and lying covered with blood. Within a few days she met a Cannibal dancer (II, p. 71), who was supposed to have vanished into the land above; he killed her and lacerated her body, as she had seen. A Kimsquit man told of a similar instance that happened to a member of the party with which he had been hunting a number of years previously. One night he was wakened by one of his companions, *Tcklis*, calling out that he was afraid because he had dreamt that one side of their canoe was shattered. The hunters were impressed, because they knew he had long ob-

several ceremonial chastity and was, therefore, in a good position to receive premonitions of this kind. The next day, as they were paddling down the river, they came upon some treacherous ice. Forewarned, they hastily abandoned their canoe, one side of which was soon broken in the way *Tsatlis* had described; if they had continued their journey they would certainly have been drowned.

The dreams thus far recorded have all been capable of simple explanation; in fact, their meaning is obvious, either visually or audibly. In addition, there are a number of types considered to be symbolic by the Bella Coola. There are no professional interpreters, but it is believed that in ancient times shamans knew the significance of certain images and this knowledge has since been transmitted from generation to generation.

One type indicates a coming birth. If a woman dreams that she travels to some distant spot, under the ocean or into the mountains, and there takes something in her hand, it signifies that she will soon bear a male child; on the other hand, if she picks up some small object when gathering berries, a daughter will be born. A Kimsquit informant stated that before his birth, his mother dreamed that she had gone far under the mouth of the Dean River to the vicinity of Kimsquit's house, where she had taken up a child. From this she knew she was pregnant and he was born in due course. If the scene of the dream is in the mountains, it means that the child will be a good hunter; if under water, that he will be a successful fisherman, as is proved in this case. There is a vague belief that death takes place either near the spot where the mother received indication of conception, or that the life and spirit of the deceased visit the place before setting out on their journey back from generation to generation. The old man from whom this information was obtained expects to meet death by drowning, though he is himself uncertain whether his premonition is due to his mother's dream or to the fact that there has been a tendency for this to occur in his family.

a bull has been drowned in spite of efforts to rescue him, means that a hunter has been caught.

To dream of seeing a *bear* dance in full costume means that a fisher, lynx, wolverine, mountain goat, wolf, or black bear has been caught.

To dream of fighting people, especially if arrows are used, means that a grizzly bear has been caught.

To dream of playing children means that deer will be seen the following day.

To dream of swimming means that an otter has been caught.

To dream of fondling a woman and playing with her breasts means that a marten has been caught.

Obscene dreams mean that squirrels or pack rats have been caught.

To dream of a woman with whom the hunter has held illicit intercourse means that absolutely nothing has been caught.

Until recent years these interpretations were believed without question and no hunter hesitated to examine his supposition he had received such indications of success. A hunter's wife likewise obtains information of her husband's fortune in dreams.

All dreams cannot be translated. One man, for example, dreamed that in his sleep he had often seen a supernatural being enter his house, turn to the left, pick up one of the heavy fire boards and carry it around the fire as if it had been a cup. The apparition always told him to do likewise, but though he has tried repeatedly in his dreams, he has always found it too heavy. Such an image might serve a shaman as theme for a dramatic performance, though, of course, the element of carrying the slab would be lacking. Another dream experienced several times by the same man when ill is that of being carried with the speed of light to a flat land somewhat similar to this, but located on the top of a range of lofty mountains. It contains numerous grassy meadows studded with trees of which the

CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO

Introductory — Causative Medicine — Preventive and Curative Medicine — Incense — Taboo — Ritual Act — Miscellaneous Beliefs

Introductory

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and often of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the native doctrines and, though less noticeable, is present also in those concerning shamans since these men have themselves acquired ability placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. To the Baila Caste there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, the acquisition of an object from which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, neither supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from most religious ones, though it must be emphasized that the cleavage is less distinct to the native than it appears to the white man.

It is difficult to find a clear dividing-line between religion and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and

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that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a enemy, and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a capsizing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it draws from his stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hairs, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the accidens, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a lad trained so that he understands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with this skill was deadened to the meaning of the birds' croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this is

755 of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first had been taken, but T would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerers

754 [424] Among the causative medicines of which knowledge has been handed down in various families for generations are secret means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so bounden unless he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a [375] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the *Raven* society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain [422] man should die, the power of his daughter may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such • [754] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members of the *Raven* society:

(1) The executioner screeches for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the screeching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

Lib. Howarth E-1 (1932-1934)1933
NEA Bulletin NEA

by their owners for safety. Judas, an old Bella Coola believed to be a sorcerer, has been seen to scrape up the moist earth where a man has urinated; in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some poison medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for having sorcerers.

Secrecy is essential, as a sorcerer is usually enticed by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing suspicion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be transmitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to bribe his discoverer to silence.

Sometimes two or more different tribes work in partnership to lessen the danger of practising their rites near the village of a victim. For example, a Bella Coola sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bella Bella for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practising malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who sends an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own powers and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations.

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the

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754 754 practitioner of killing their enemies. To achieve this end, a member of the family claims to be a shaman and his relatives loudly acclaim him. It is not difficult for a man with skill in conjuring to perform some simple domestic act, probably one carried out by an ancient shaman, which he announces has been shown to him by a supernatural being who has given him power to cure the sick. Then the accuser selects a suitable victim and causes him to become ill by placing something taken from him in contact with his medicine. If the misbeliever is fortunate, the victim will consult the "shaman" who will effect a cure and be paid for it, ignorant of the fact that his recovery has been due to the removal of the article by the practitioner's accomplice. This deception is especially difficult to expose if the accuser has a box containing genuine belief from human bodies, since the sickness increases or diminishes accordingly to the depth to which the article is sunk. This is one of the ways in which some shamans have built up great reputations as curers.

The psychology of sorcery is similar to that of other kinds of magic. It is not possible for the misbeliever to tell his victim that he has stolen a nail paring, for example, and that he will die because it has been placed in a decoction of human grease. But if the attending shaman is an accomplice, he can inform the sufferer that his malady has been caused by a sorcerer and this belief profoundly affects him. He feels that he will die unless a remedy be found, and if the shaman assures him that he has rendered the evil influence impotent, his chances of recovery are increased accordingly. So, likewise, the members of families who possess sorcerers against the activities of sorcerers often work in conjunction with one. It is therefore not surprising that the Bella Coola should firmly believe in their machinations and affirm that they have killed many thousands of people in the course of generations. The belief in magic would [illegible] to explain this, but it is strengthened by the social and economic aspects of a sorcerer's vocation. The occasions in which the power accrues is kept

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everyone sympathized with the hunter on account of her many bereavements. The only survivors were a woman who, like herself, had lost all her kinsmen. The food provided was hardly enough to feed her, but she feared that every relative of the sorcerers should receive a portion dipped in poison beforehand. They all started to eat at the same time, and all fell dead simultaneously without a word.

Naturally wild confusion broke out and the queen exclaimed that they were being served poison. Unperturbed, the woman explained everything, how she had first become suspicious, how she had followed the two brothers, and all that had resulted. A party set out at once under her guidance and found that everything she had said was true. In this way perished all the relatives of the sorcerers except one man who happened to be absent at the time. One of his descendants is now living in Bella Coola and is regarded with a certain amount of suspicion, although there is no evidence that he or any of his relatives have practised sorcery for generations.

A BELLA COOLA SORCERER

Since the introduction of medicine, there dwelt in the lower Bella Coola valley a shaman, *Ăwaxalxalaxamis* by name, he was a regular practitioner, who took to heal the sick or to cause death. When using his power beneficially, he drank a bottle containing a red-coloured, but when he was requested to kill, he used one that appeared to be identical but contained human teeth and evil frogs. In some unknown manner these were fed, which prevented him from obeying a man as requested by the chiefs of the village. One night they he summoned his difficulty casually to a woman, Tsilis, who surprised him by replying:

"I can supply you with teeth and you will have greater power than ever."

The two men chose as the time and Tsilis, having observed that he was a sorcerer, suggested that they form a partnership. He must have felt confident that *Ăwaxalxalaxamis* would agree, as indeed he did gladly. Tsilis explained that the necessary knowledge had been handed down in his family for generations, but that he had only recently begun to use it to arrange a flight on a type of moth.

That evening Tsilis guided *Ăwaxalxalaxamis* up the mountain on the north side of the narrows head of Thorsen Inverness Arm, just west of the Nuskumaxmaxy River. Shamans frequently ranged over this area, but as one had ever seen a sorcerer's tent there. Tsilis led the way to a small rock shelter beneath which was concealed a chest about eight feet long. He handed a few stones with the left hand, each rolled out from under the right

"Make up!"

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"Someone is calling your name." 527

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481

"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322 777 carpenter.

If a woman nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 525 basket is thrown away immediately in case dung has been dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [524] this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young come [761] out rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [752] only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 852 sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 527 head, mention, and throw it away. No explanation of this custom is known.[a]

[a] This is not the only custom connected with the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 886.

Field Museum of Natural History
NEA Bellacoola NEA

cual their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated person sees or hears something which he should not know. The simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer. It is said that as late as 1900 a young man, impelled by curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child of a *hetsiut*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society. If this happens at any time of year except the actual ceremonial season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience. With the aid of the elder *hetsiut* he then performs a dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p. 76[n.]), and is unfolded until the next autumn, meanwhile wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, as of course the kid only performs ceremonially. When winter comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the decrees of the senior *hetsiut* in deceiving his former friends. If it becomes known that a youth has seen something which should have been concealed, the senior *hetsiut* of his village meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always ready to provide the necessary *hetsiut* prerogative; otherwise he would have to be killed. Two or three members are then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in fear, to the hole of hohim, the place which he had been told to avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. There he finds all the seniors of his village, seated with grave expressions on

B: McDermith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Cannibal Dance]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

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away since no female can witness a Cannibal's first meal. Three *hahaetsa* are dispatched to ask for food, as if they were begging on behalf of X. Chicken grease, dried salmon, dried meat, and other luxuries are always given to them, and the uninitiated women are excited at witnessing this collection of food. Sometimes a request is made during the day, and the messengers are entitled to call upon any individual by name to provide grease or some other delicacy.

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The actual feeding is done by a shaman who is also a *hamat*. He first dips his hands in the grease, warms them at the fire and rubs them over X's face as the struggling Cannibal is held by six or eight *hahaetsa*. Members of the society keep calling out *hoip* to excite X, who is supposed to be like a wild animal, and to have lost all desire for ordinary food. Like a maniac he snaps at the shaman's fingers, while the *hahaetsa* cry out and the uninitiated watch with fear and amusement. After rubbing the Cannibal's cheeks four times, the shaman directs out that he is almost ready to eat. The heralds echo his words, and go through the village to inform all of what has taken place. The shaman now puts a few morsels of food in a spoon and tries to feed X, who struggles and tries to bite pieces out of the utensil itself. Undismayed, he puts small pieces of food actually into X's mouth, heedless of the snapping jaws, and at last persuades him to swallow a little.

"He has eaten," the shaman calls out joyfully, and the heralds repeat the good tidings.

An effort is next made to force him to drink, but X only bites the vessel, and the fingers of the shaman, and succeeds in drenching himself with the liquid. But at last he swallows a few mouthfuls.

"He has drunk," calls the shaman, and as before the heralds repeat his words.

The shaman now tells the uninitiated that X will be all right, but that it will be safer for them to depart, as they have willingly. Heralds keep everyone in the village informed of the events.

R. McDermith E-3 (512-514) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Defending Dance]

X begins to move his fingers in a feeble way and to sing a shaman's song of which *Intcmalo a* is the only intelligible word. Of course the singers have previously taught him as much as is necessary of this type of composition, but the assumption is that he has just learned it from *Intcmalo a* who has restored him to life. At this juncture two shamans often approach X and appear to project some power into him whereby he is able to rise and slowly circle the fire, supported by them. He shakes his hands and sings in a weak voice, then stands behind the fire, still supported by the two shamans. This concludes the night's ceremony and the marshals tell the uninitiated to leave. The *haluciat* men follow, except carpenters, singers, and any other influential members of the society who desire to wait to discuss the performance.

As in the Stomach-Cutting dance, four days more of ceremonial follow the severing of X's head, with ritual corresponding to that of an ordinary *haxiat* performance. Ceremonies occur on the right after the decapitation. The *haluciat* gather to greet time to have a song, the theme of which is X's person, the supernatural being *Hēmētsemāsēs Ālpenxōm*, who has his head pulled off during dances in the land above. Mention is always made of *Intcmalo a* as well. No further description is required of the ceremonial on the eighth of *nuxnaiking* and *galus*.

On *nalkoam* the first spectacle is a representation of what takes place in the land above. A mask has been prepared similar to the one worn by X, so that it can be pulled entirely from his body. This decapitation is performed by masked figures while the herald and marshals explain that this is what is done aloft. The upper mask is hidden and the performer, who wears one identical with that which has been pulled from him, stands up to show the uninitiated that his head has been restored to him. Since the performers are supposed to be supernatural beings, it is possible for the beheaded one to be restored more rapidly than was possible when X, a mortal, suffered the same fate. After this deception there follows a

[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The medicine decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four answers. Answers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saipale* performed, the answers chosen were:

Atmaiton, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity.

Wayguete Iwainikle, "The Eagle Down *Iwainikle*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Iwainikle*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace.

Kithwaninawa, "The Towering Cloud." This is the mysterious overcloud which upon before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Zuñi Cocks say that this supernatural cloud has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of protection.

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that it cannot live unless its riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a rattlesnake, so must the one who solves the problem be made a doctor. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and is instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A doctor must be in readiness at noon to binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care.

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rate previously described. To the Zuñi Cushing philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which Zuñi was allowed to use his experience as the basis for a Kachina dance. The assumption is that he was a Kachina at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1900, each Zuñi having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

THE GHOST DANCE[a]

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Among the numerous persons of Kachina dances is Ghosts. The word, *k'thaukkwi*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to Kachina with such a person, but the two functionaries must not be confused. He is a fairly common personage and there are Ghost dances in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an encounter with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which dances of Ts'aukk'i performed in ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

At any time during the ceremonial season X confers with the members to decide upon a suitable time for the performance. On the evening preceding, normally the gods of some other dance, the members meet that he call a moment; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

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When the unknown rites of the following evening are been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own homes, they are startled to hear whistling from the west near at hand. It is not the inconsequentially profound wind that accompanies the coming of a cold, but careless whistling with the mouth, everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A distraction from them is by no means unknown, ed always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently hostile go through to village

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[a] The relationship is explicit with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(c) Recorded as song VIII D 31, National Museum of Canada, sources, Boshem Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and translator, assisted by Tal'ia Charlie and Amendenet Annie. 593*

(d) In many of Pootlas's ancestors had been observed that he considered such a line to be an inheritable tendency and recorded accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons. [761] [827] [195]

(e) *Line* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; in fact therefore, the significance of. The span of life is shortening.

(f) This word replaces the usual overflow chorus.

(g) Raven. This is one of his rarely used *chief's* names.

(f) The reference is to an incident related about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a son who was his chief joy and delight. *Raven* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his eagle-like supernatural birds to seize him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. I, p. 80. [775]

Shaman Songs

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to each person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete. 593* 756 [759]

Song Used by Shaman(ess), a Tsimpsh Shaman

A	*shaman*
In the beginning(e)	the life-giving power(s) was made,
you that spirited	*shaman*
that is what we have given	within them(e).

(remainder removed (f))

[illegible]
[illegible]

9 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(p) sang | over my weak-brain(d), | they all watched over

[illegible]
my shaman's power(d).

[remainder omitted]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Become open | the place of shaman's power(d), | there I am

[illegible]
[illegible].

(a) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from [illegible] (data gathered 1936). He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada, stages, [illegible].

(c) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(d) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

(e) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if [illegible] or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

(f) The two choruses of this song have different tunes, an unusual feature.

(g) Referring to supernatural beings, this part of the song is worded as if [illegible] were speaking, and describing the time he was made a shaman.

(h) Reference to the weak-brain shows that [illegible] had the ability to cure the sick.

(i) The chorus is worded as if supernatural beings had received and bounded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(j) The reference is to [illegible], as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When [illegible] was at the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural ones conferring about his own fate, and agreed with joy at the departure of [illegible] to restore him.

[illegible]

Song Used by [illegible], a Bella Coola Woman(f)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Is moved up and down. | [illegible] | when they(p) sang | of salmon(d).

[remainder omitted]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(p) glanced right down. | within the weak-brain(g) | when I was(h),

[illegible]
he(f) pulled me forth.

[remainder omitted]

6 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] 533* 756

[illegible]
in the centre of a place of purified power(d).

(a) This was the woman's doctor designation, her shaman's name has been forgotten. [351]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 16, National Museum of Canada, question, Boulder Indians, Snake, Jim Pollard, presenter and translator, assisted by Pat'a Charlie and Sweetheart Annie.
(c) Then to. The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]
(d) Refers to the supernatural beings.
(e) [illegible] is said to be the word for salmon in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [224]
(f) Refers to the supernatural beings.
(g) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.
(h) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by Pitseplitlow and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.
(i) The refers to the supernatural being, Awanitsalgum, who restores to life animals killed by the receipt of too much power from Pitseplitlow. It is clear that this has befell the shaman. [776]
(j) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and Pitseplitlow himself. It is impossible to assess which of her supernatural gestures is referred to in this subdivision.
(k) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where coins could be obtained by the power of a supernatural being purified there. [155]

[351]
[776]

Song Used by [illegible], a Kitsepsil Sheik(l)

4 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Look at the running supernatural beings above(s), see one is my equal(s).

[remainder removed]

5 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
The most sanctimony values or right to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(s).

[remainder removed]

6 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
The most sanctimony are your wash-basin(g).

[remainder removed]

(a) "The One Who Dances Near the Fire." This is one of Pinxpüitw-a's designations and, therefore, one of the names she gives to those she owns.
(b) Recorded on song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(c) As is often the case, the chorus is worded as if Pinxpüitw-a were speaking.
(d) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions.
(e) Referring to *Nuxalk-walkaxic*; such self-praise is a common device in songs used by shamans.
(f) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the mouth is in connection with the way a shaman accompanies his song by furious clashing together of his teeth. Pinxpüitw-a herself does this.
(g) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

Song Used by Xnaxmaxalaic, a Kitsaqut Woman(a)

A *Sqaqaxaxl-xilaxalx* | *walx!xwalilhaxaxtxl* | *waxtqlxlhaxaxtxalx*
NIQA have given me | the power of a shaman, | give me mental strength

waqaxaxtxl
the good supernatural beings.

[REMAINDER CENSORED]

B *Xlaqaxlqalxalxalx* | *alqaxlaqax-aq-ltxl walxl* | *dlaxaxtxaqaxaxa-xilaxalxalx*
They opened | *Sang-ltx*; | they saw me

waqaxlqalxalxa-xilaxalxalx(c)
as they peered down.

[REMAINDER CENSORED]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten(d).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It was used when the woman first danced as a shaman.
(b) This refers to supernatural beings in general. The song is worded as if the shaman herself were speaking.
(c) When a record was being made of this song, the singer forgot this subdivision and substituted for it the final one of the first part.
(d) It is said that there was no mention of a wash-basin in the third part and that, accordingly, the shaman had no power to heal the sick.

[551]

Song Used by Nxaxnxamxkwa(a), a Kitsaqut Man(b)

A *Yaa dlaxaxtxalaxa* | *alaxaxtxalaxa* | *gaxa-lxaxaxnxalx* | *dlaxlxalxalqlx*
Shall I? Shaman, | *X(a)* repeat(d); | I give life, | I am a learned one.

[REMAINDER CENSORED]

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

B *Ẁaw-ḥálimaq(c)* They measure when(*f*)	*skwálkwstmxwamilaw* will be visible	*skwiaxtdemydai* my wisdom,	593* 756

skdwnúyakai
my ability as a shaman(*g*).

[WORKMAN CROWD]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten; it is said that in it there was reference to a wash-basin, showing that the shaman was able to treat the sick.

(*a*) "The One of Whom All Sick People Think," a name received from *Ẁitsápḥitse'a*. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 32h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) Referring to *Ẁitsápḥitse'a*; this part of the song is worded as if she were speaking.

(*d*) That is: I do as I have done before.

(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced this subdivision with the first of the first part.

(*f*) That is: They decide upon the time when.

(*g*) The reference is to the dramatic performance which marks his status as shaman; this part of the song is worded as if the shaman himself were speaking.

Song Used by Ẁitsmálpkis(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b) [551]

A *Ẁaxmxtmálmx* Is ready	*dlaxlkkwmíyxtdai* my wash-basin(*c*),	*dípxmxmtsp* I will use it

skálkwkdíyxw xdíxp
when you(*d*) come for treatment.

[WORKMAN CROWD]

B and *C*. The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) "The Sleep-Giver," a name received from *Ẁitsápḥitse'a*. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 27h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie. In 1922 he was about seventy years of age and the song was used by his step-mother.

(*c*) This reference shows that the shaman had power to treat the sick.

(*d*) Referring to human beings in general.

Fragment of a Song Used by Nuxatmamkwm, a Bella Coola Man(a)

Ẁaxkxtkwkmxdíxndai Held me in his cupped hands	*yux dlaxtmdai* the learned one(*b*),	*dlwaxtkwmixtdai* when he bore me

wxdlmkdíyxtkwmixdi
to the place of treatment.

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEB

*533
756

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The theme is worded as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ăkuciyaxtem, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ăxuxlĕmaxaxlaxlx	*a'yuxuxsyo·xy"ulx*	*daxuxqaiaixuslin*	*dĕlxaiaxlaxl*
Laughed	*Sony"* (*b*)	when they(*c*)snorted	my rite as shaman(*d*).

[words erased]

Xaiixtxelxs
See how wretched I am(*e*).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

(*b*) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(*c*) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(*d*) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(*e*) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by Kusiyat, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Snanxkila	*Snanxkila*	*dimanxludai*	*anasi*
The sun(*b*),	the sun,	is our father	(*c*)!

The rest of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

[821
776
788]

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) This is the sun's name as chief.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

(*d*) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *Kusiyat* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *Thlraphlăn-a*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *snăxom.*. Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state

Z:\McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

emphatically that the songs which they used were little more than series of meaningless phrases, often in languages unknown to the hearers. It was possible to collect the two following examples of this type:

Ayus ayus(a).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 30b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

It is believed that this song was composed by Raven, but no one has any knowledge of when, or for what purpose, it was made. A *sndqvoo* used it in Bella Coola many years ago, and the words and tune have since been remembered. *Ayus* is said to be the word for *man* in a language spoken on the west side of Vancouver Island, so it is assumed that the visionary must have come from that region.

The second example consists of a single word:

Ayalius(a).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Ayalius is in a language unintelligible to any of the Bella Coola. This word and tune are supposed to be even more ancient than the first example.

Kusiut Songs

Kusiut rites are the only ones now carried out by the Bella Coola with even approximate completeness, and many of the songs used at them are still remembered by all. A number of dances took place during the period of investigation and the texts of all the songs used were collected, as well as the music of the majority. This explains the full versions of the examples in this section as compared to the preceding ones. Moreover, it is probable that *kusiut* songs, composed with care by the singers, have always been more logical than those employed by shamans in which the fiction of supernatural instruction has been preserved. In former times, *kusiut* songs were always

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Ala: enemy village.
Ala-xalk, "Ala of the Twisting Point": Name given to a hut where sea was inspected in infancy.
[424] *alaxaxwalas*: Refusal to look to an omission a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage formulæ.
[374] *alaqaltxwas*: Ritual carried when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.
Alaxtcqumas: House of a female shaman.
Alem, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a feast of chief.
Alemkaikaiks: Earliest name of a Bella Coola town.
Alemxaikaiks: One of the first men to settle at *Alaiaid* in the beginning of time.
[575] *alemxwas*: Ritual having the ability to enter the bush-room and treat initiated concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of fool shields.
[598] *Alqalxtcs*: Hobbers, supernatural beings who resemble supernatural Cannibals.
alqaxwas: Personal hunting of stinks.
Alxaxwaxwas: Wife of *Tsaxalis*, the supernatural hunter.
Alxaxwikkwas: Supernatural cannibalistic coyote.
Alxqaltcilis: Husband of *Axalitsulaxen*, he is known only in Kimsquit.
[575] *amaxtcmak*: Earliest dance of mystery.
[574] *amaxtcmamas*: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning community.
amaxtcmamaqs: Call used by hostile tribes announcing to a mourning community.
[425] *amaxwalis*: The "Dragging Across" of a canoe, creek, or other intangible property from wife to husband either at marriage or later or a repurchasing of the wife.
[574] *amokwas*: To drag a heavy burden.
[842] *amokwas-ax*: Cannibalism mixed with shaman games.
[821] *amoxtcas*: Visit to his repository by a dead initiate.
Amoxtcmut, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.
Anlqaxwaq, "The Axtcmokwa Time": Hushed assemblage of the Axtcmokwa after departure of a Cannibal.
[597] *anuxtcikwas*: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
Aqaqalxtcilis: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.
aqs: Food.
[425] *aqsamas*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.
Aqsaiad, "Overboard": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
● [752] *aqsaiks*: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.
[882] *aqsaxik*: Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.
[825] *Aqsaxiyas*: or Supernatural names of chiefs, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
Aqsaxiyas, "A Chief Descends": Name given to an *Aqsaiad* man in the beginning of time.

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[824] *Ancestors*, "Left Foot": Once supernatural canoe; now part of a supernatural constellation.
Ancestors: Kimsquit human living in the last century.
ancestral: Descendant-chief.
ancestral log, "The Feathers": Term concerning a hunter who has foreseen initiation and his first complete dance.
[207] [881] *ancestor*: Small cup of grass and decorative shells worn by adolescent girls during initiation.
ancestor: Crest, especially from clan, to a hunter dance.
Ancestors: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Winter's dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a hunter dance.
ancestors, "A Trespassing": Term of cause when a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.
[674] [601] *area*: Place of concealment of a Winter's dancer's parents.
Ancestors: Old people, especially parents, due to a taboo term for relevant relatives.
[415] *ancestor*: Rightful location, especially the ordained position of a chief in a house.
ancestor: Dishes carved with ceremonial crests.
ancestors: 1—Whales.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at Dallis.
[829] *and*: Spring salmon.
ancestor: Spring salmon house.
Ancestors: Professional name of a hunter recorded.
Ancestors: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.
ancestors: 1—The placement of mark on behavior in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Shaman, the time when mask rites are assigned, the second crossing of a hunter dance.
Ancestorshowmaker, "The Rainbow Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at Dallis.
[5775] *ancestrals or ancestor*: That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a hunter crest.
ancestral: Second night of a potlatch.
[226] *ancestral*: Accidental, post-like structure built into a river for use in hunter fishing.
Anchorage, "Where People Go": A salmon pool owned by Kwaxa on Kimsquit.
anchorage: Cove near Dean Channel.
Anchorage, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of Thingalitse's names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anchorage: Supernatural woman who guards copulations.
Anchorage: 1—"The Open Mouthed" (in the sense of open to such forth sickness). One of Thingalitse's names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[752] [829] 2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.
anchorage: Both running water.
anchorages: 1—Ranks of ordinary individuals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the second society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

2: McDonald B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola MSS

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[824] *Ant'talk:* Tree, probably birch.
Kaiemkut': One of the first men to settle at *Bonjut* in the beginning of time.
Kaiskiko: One of the first men to settle at *Imsdzil* in the beginning of time.
Kaiksus: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kaiut: Kimsquit man.
[222] *Kaiyum:* *Kaiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kaiyum:* The gathering of furs must be final.
Kaiyumaiksus: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Snass* in the beginning of time.
Ka'kwa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kakwaiklaxstas:* Public session, previous to marriage, of the bride's assumed myths
[842] in order to cause children to be born.
kalpuas: Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the recital of myths by the bride's relatives, the cleansing of ornaments, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[976] *Kamaiks:* 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying hesitancy.
Kamaiksaq[w]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nalkun* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuqkalx* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kamaiskilx: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nusiyanas.*
Kamaiyanas: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Mqaitlut.*
Kamaiyiksiks: *Kaiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamaiyuq[w]: House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuqkalx* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kamil':* Kelp.
[227] *kamuis:* Cod hook.
kamus: Termination.
[824] *kanaxa:* 1—Shell fungus.
2—*Kaiut* dance in which a shell fungus is used.
Kanilkus: One of the first women to settle at *Snass* in the beginning of time.
kas imut: Ceremonial crow.
Kasaxis: Herald of a *Tal'is chief* in the beginning of time.
kaskas: Trap.
Kaxsalaksus: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Xalkis* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Qkumut*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *kaxlitas:* Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kaxpaklaxsus: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kaxsilaqlaxa: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kaxsi:* 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kaxsis: *Kaiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kaxtsa: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[752] *kaxtut:* The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kaxuiks:* Golden eagle.
[524] *kaxus:* Top, toy.

Gaxsem: Tail.
Gaxshil: Nose.
Gax: Black bearberry.
Gaxa'a: *Kaxlan* name of a Kitwancool man.
Gaxelhon: Ancestral name of the wife of *Sandy* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
Gaxil: Raven.
Gaxsalgiks: Kitlope chief living in the beginning of time.
Gaxsky: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day.
Gaxsolax'a: *Kaxlan* name of a Kitwancool woman.
Gaxt: Bark basket for holding liquids.
Gaxtsimdzigat: The making of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
Gaxtsimdzimsim: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
Gaxuxs: Bark room in which sweat baths are taken and where are concealed.
Gaxu: Woman during menopause.
Gaxuhlu, "What Was Seen Down": Incorporeal possession, such as a myth or a gen-ealogy, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
Gaxupsem: Wooden rouge such as are used for lifting hot stones.
Gaxuskinkit ala Sweetgum: *Kaxlan* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
Ga'ats or Ga'ak, "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *Ga'ak* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through supernatural knowledge or through successful participation in either a *Sacrifice* or a *Mystery* dance.
Gabak, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an unninicked person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Gabdagy: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Gabem: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visita-tion, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
Gabe, Gabeim, Gabeem: Grandmother.
Gabe'ensem'a: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ga'gaidadi: Name given to their canoes by the first settlers at *Hazen* in the beginning of time.
Gaidamaxwaa, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Gaidihon: One of the first women to settle at *Hagaiket* in the beginning of time.
Gaid'o'o: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Gaiem: 1—Crab.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the ocean.
Gaigalas: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
Gaik: Red elderberry.
Gaikt: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark.
Gaio: Unidentified plant.
Gaiom: To roast dried salmon.
Gaiomsimdzit: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Gaiqusmit: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Zaremik*.
Ga'ga: Place on south side of Naich Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

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*This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kaiso'i*.

Kitasoomcux: The chaos that keeps a foolish man from success as a child; the concept is anti-anthropomorphized.

Kitate: Free ceremonial challenge.

Kitlitx: colony village.

Kitsa: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.

Kitsilanaxa: Shamans who received power from ghosts.

Kmahmaklaxtsa: Bella Coola hunter.

Koaytlem, "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimsquit* has been derived.

Koaytlem: Dean River.

Kuskusk: *Kimsquit* man mentioned in an ancient story.

Lem: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a Tsi'ia woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.

Lhel'umux: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential *Kimsquit* chief, who died about 1930.

Lha'ats: Shadows.

Ldi: White fir (?).

Lewa'x: Flowing.

Lewaylax: Propagation of living oneself.

Lgwax: Dried salmon.

Lgwaylax: Synonym for *skulks*: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *lgwax*.

Lhalalkum: Progenies.

Lhalaxlhum: Supernatural being who believes in an ancient woman.

Lhi'ic: Term whose birth is attributed to salmon.

Lhi'kaimaix: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

Lhilalkum: Unidentified berry (*serviceberry?*).

Lhilcoax: Supernatural female shaman who guided *N'mastua*.

Lhl'aytaylaxp: *Kimsquit* name of a Bella Coola Canoehat.

Lhlh'ilaxa, "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.

Lhlukaay: Land, region, earth.

Lhlulc: First part of song.

Lhtsal': Trashaw mountain whose fairy relies up the Bella Coola valley.

Lkayaxtsmaxlhitx, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of coho salmon.

Lpaxtlum: Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when an representation of the deceased has been employed.

Lpaxtlus: Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.

Lsaxalaxtsa or **Lsaxalaxtsus**: Synonym for *Lelhalaxtsa*, 'invariously present.'

Lsaxsaxalaxa: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

Lulpl, lusutlu, Lulpal: Granddaughter.

Lulsaxlaxk: *Kimsquit* ceremonial at which foreigners are present.

Lulu: The construction of salmon-weirs.

'This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic *r* sound.

APPENDIX D

Galkeemas: Kwakiutl name for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride.

Galokhalaxsdjoe: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above.

Gamaxa: Quadrille.

Gamkumkhlamas, "Wise Rings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Winalagilis*.

Gaxtaxais: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular Hamatsa dances.

Gaxsa-was: Said to be identical with *sisiyuthl*, the mythic object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor.

Gaxtax: *gilawa*, *hallaxtsa*, *nenalits*, *haxtaxa*, *nenalits gilawa*, *hallaxtsa*.
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform Hamatsa dances during the winter ceremonial season.
2—Rhythm of the society.
3—"The Lowest One": Designation ceremonially applied to a supernatural being, especially a cannibal one, or to a person having power to cure the sick.

Gaxtsas: Kwakiutl female shaman living in the last century.

Gedzas: Referral son, especially a child, this is the reciprocal form of the word *hemdzoxs*: Nephew.

Gemal'kis'yalitsa: Woman dwelling on Dun Dupont in the beginning of time.

Gemayala: South Side.

Gemkumkhl'as: Supernatural name of Cannibal.

Gem-kum-o: Wrapper.

Gemkumsemkhl: Wrapper name required by the first archive at Fleur.

Gemkwa: Unidentified bird of which the nose is an omen of death.

Gemkwi: Secret name of a Bella Coola man.

Gemkwimas: Secret name of a Bella Coola man.

Gemkwumsut: Secret name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

Gem'o-ol: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Gemts: Evergreen bough.

Gemtsiwal: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

Gemyaxal: One of the archives.

Gemyis: Secret name of a Kwagutl man.

Gem'yuwa, "The Big One": Lawful male supernatural being.

Gemyuwalis: Man who came to earth near Dean in the beginning of time.

Gem-yuwe: Kwagutl woman.

Gemlaix: Kwagutl man mentioned in an ancient story.

Gemlaxa: One of the first men to settle at Salmon Fort in the beginning of time.

Gemlaxa: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Gemlaxkala, "One Who Has without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Gemlo: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a Nenkula chief, the word is a synonym for *Winalagilis*.

Gemlilas Hankumpas: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Gemlemlilas-wis: Lullaby.

Gem'pala: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

Gemlis: 1—Fox or trap in the snare for salmon.
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

APPENDIX B

Adhanor: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Adhanti: Unidentified name on the water maps mentioned in a Dean story of the beginning of time.

Adhilanadhilan: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at Dzalid in the beginning of time.

Adhilanadhur: Chief's son in the beginning of time.

Adhin: Small parasitic worm.

Adhon: Grandson of a spouse.

Adzumbai: 1—"The Copper Man."
2—"Bear," in the language of Dean.

Ahnaminalgwan: Indistinct unidentified mythical man.

Ahthan: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.

Ahtlanamilus, "The Destroyer of Eagle Down": Name created by Omaaan for his son in the beginning of time.

Ahw: To look.

Aiahlahlahw: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.

Aiawamus: Power of plural disposition.

Aiclay: Bakimaan.

Aih: To waive aw, the word for goldeneh, low, a supposedly derived from this low, Dzilqaeh.

Aihlaeh: The landing down of a Cannibal with man.

Aimaihlas (Unidentified unknown name, probably the fourth after the summer solstice.

Aimaih di Hyaetlaway, "The Prelude of the mountaway": Second name after winter solstice.

Aimaihla, "Time of All": One of the first men to settle at Hubit, in the beginning of time.

Aimaimgyet: Shaman's ritual name, such as the saving of one who is supernaturally confined.

Aimaihlaw: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.

Aimaimay: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to agree a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus work himself on the path towards greatness.

Aimaimaimay: The turning over of a mountain.

Aai'yo: Predecessor name of a female berry-picker.

Aimaihlaw: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at Dzalid in the beginning of time.

Aih: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning.

Aimaihlaw: Cannibal feaster name used by the first settlers at Hubit in the beginning of time.

Aiyimaw: Ancient name of a Bella Coola male Ancestor.

Aiklay: Ancestor.

Aimaih: 1—Ancient name of a Tsimsil man.
2—Shamanistic power.

Aihlahaw: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, meditation of which is interrupted by a story or other feeling of depression.

Aimaw: Ancient name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.

Aimhaimhaimaw, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of Dzoqwa-lilaw, and hence a designation given to shamans.

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[415]

[763]

[825]

[195]
[756]

[764]

[772]

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Pa'aats-amq, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
pa'ayaxsmaxs: Women's verbal quarrels about gossip.
Pa'ats: 1—Narrow district above Green Bay.
2—Rock, adjective.
Pa'ayahlq: Fat in body human.
Pa'ayaxsala: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tsi'is* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuqulaut* in the beginning of time.
3—Roll of the universe which, when broken, released the sun.
Pa'ayaxsmaxs-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nuqulaut* in the beginning of time.
Paaytsq: 1—(Probable) "The Place of Barnacles": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
pacul'qinx: Expository, archaic term.
pa'ayuxsm-at-mamaxs: The assumption of a name upon earth.
Pa'ayuxsmayaxs, "Things to Bring the Face With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage.
pa'ayuxs-qinx: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
pa'ayuxsilaxsmaxs: Abstinence from acts of an undesirable nature after the taking of a powerful medicine.
pa'ayuxsilaxs: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and exerts over a patient.
Pa'ayuxsilaxs': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Pa'ayuxs: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Pa'ayuxs, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
pa'ayuxsmaxs: Alteration of a dance from *p'amak* to *hamats'*.
pa'ayuxsta: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
pa'ayuxstaxsmaxs, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband.
pa'ayuxstaxsmaxs: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion.
Pa'ayuxs, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Pa'ayuqlaq: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nuqulaut* in the beginning of time.
pa'ayuqsala: Parents of twins.
pa'ayuqsmaxs: Wolf.
Pa'ayuxsmaxs: Mythical house in the sky.
Pa'ayuxsmaxs: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
pa'ayuxsta: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tsimsyaan* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *pa'ayuxs*.
pa'ayuxsyaxsm: A creation of new *hamats'* names, each as is necessitated by a dream or at the will of a mighty chief.
pa'ayuxsyaxsm: *Kwakiutl* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
pa'ayuxsyaxsm: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance.
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
pa'ayuxs, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who points upon the head-rests used to produce cranial deformation in an infant.
Pa'ayuxsmath, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Pa'ayuxsmaxs: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Tsimsyan* man.

S. Smith S-5 (1908-1925) 1923
NBS Bellacoola MSS

eat for the raven to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, or may rate it is one of witchcraft. 755 855 [illegible]

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place. 787 815

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child. 754 856 825

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1887. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic 754 756 825

S. Smith B-3 (1910-1911) 1911
BBS Bulletin 911

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and blue overcome when he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will take his own son. It is believed that he has but to wait, which fall from the body when the spirit comes to him. Therefore the dancers must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have succeeded in the sing'ida dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headdress, body bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. These sing'ida do not bite people, but merely dances are solemn, as four days to prepare and dresses them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The sing'ida has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not quarrel. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

The O'lag (= the laughter) and the Di'da (= the dancers) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The O'lag "makes fun of everything" and entertains people with his antics. The Di'da carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it or sells when he dances. The O'lag and the Di'da must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Ki'wida, for instance when the sing'ida question, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shamans, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Ki'wida are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a anklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Alkpoi'tsuxun, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qō'tsetsim and his brethren and his sister (see p. 412), Mamamalī'nōq and his fellows, the raven and the Nemqī'nōx, and many others.

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro-

G-Boas B-9 (1884-ca. 1890)[876]
NEB Bellacoola MSS

what cause this divergence to be. Mythology and ritual are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Sun, the sun-god (compare sing, sun). The sign of the sun are his symbols. What gospel is to be called Tsal'aa. In praying the Bilqula both hereinbefore obtained the following formulæ: Alkaia alk'aiag, Tsal'aa, 'look on us where we are moving, Tsal'aa,' and Tsal'aa, alk'aiakumaiyk, 'Take care of us, Tsal'aa.' Sun is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and almost interferes with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given to Mamamalk'aiq. According to the traditions of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Mamamalk'aiq, Tsal'aaxaiu, Skaiaqa'aiqax, and Ial'ilalk'alak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and here the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Mamamalk'aiq, and found there a beautiful pointed canopy in which all the birds lived. Mamamalk'aiq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his note. The raven was so content with the sun, and wondered so try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the sun-p'aia (so-daughter of, sy'ma the day is dawning). The sun-p'aia was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the sun-p'aia. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Mamamalk'aiq said: 'Let us make men.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Skaiaqa'aiqax and Ial'ilalk'alak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Tsal'aaxaiu carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in such creativy, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Mamamalk'aiq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Mamamalk'aiq and his brothers still continue to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Mamamalk'aiq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)892
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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of the swoon. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Raq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as in the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Raq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awik'enox wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'hem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *anuk*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K!wae'lemeno, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Mamaxalā'kala spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following ha'mats song refers to these deities: —

[illegible]

("My child perished like the sky when it broke
On to Thunder-one of the sky, my child!
Children my heart, my child!
He lives in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'wāk!in, or Qoak!'ūn, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Axayā'lāxsmaix. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Saxaiyaiskaxsmaix," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth eastward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears.

In the ocean lives a being called Sīsiūtl, who forces every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the ha'mats ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (hēxā'xstalā'mas). It is called Aōsta'xsem. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1895)900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

There is a special deity who initiates the shamans. His name is LAL-ĀLA'K, or SEM'LOMIL (Plate XI, Fig. 9). He lives in the woods. He carries a wooden wand wound with red cedar-bark, which he swings in his hands, producing a singing noise. Around his neck he wears a large ring made of strips of bear-skin and red cedar-bark. He sometimes plays in ponds which are believed to be in certain mountains. When he jumps into the water, it boils. When a woman meets him, she begins to menstruate; when a man meets him, his nose begins to bleed. When initiating a person, he touches the chest of the latter with his wand, and paints his face with the design of the rainbow. Then he swings his wand,—the noise of which causes the person who hears it to faint. He creates several desire in men and animals. A shaman who was initiated by this being told me that he very often sees LAL-ĀLA'K, who tells him who will die and who will fall sick. Sometimes he sees that the body of a person is black. Others he sees dancing on their heads. These are signs that they will die at an early date. I obtained from this man the description of the visit to the country of the ghosts, quoted before (p. 38). He told me that when reaching the country of the dead, he saw the ghosts of his deceased relatives sitting in the house. When they saw him, they began to weep, and said, "Don't come here. We don't want to see you any more." While they were speaking to him, the chief's speaker entered the house, and called all the people to come to the dancing-house of the ghosts. One of the ghosts painted his face black and white, and tied long strips of white and red cedar-bark in his hair. The people were called four times. Then they started to go to the dancing-house. The entrance to the door was over a narrow plank. When he had just stepped on the plank, he suddenly saw LAL-ĀLA'K, with his large neck-ring made of red cedar-bark and strips of black bear-skin, who took hold of him, turned him round, and told him to return to his own country, because, if he should once enter the dancing-house, he would not be able to return. Then he revived; and from that time on, LAL-ĀLA'K was his supernatural helper.

A. Jacobsen describes this spirit as follows:[1]—

"The most prominent among the spirits of the shamans is Kle-khan-o'il [LAL-ĀLA'K]. He lives in the woods, where the youth who intends to be initiated tries to find him. When the spirit meets him, the youth faints. When he recovers, he begins to sing a song, the tune and words of which have been given to him by the spirit. Now he has become a shaman, who uses this song in all his incantations; but he does not retain it throughout life, because he meets his guardian spirit almost every year, and then he receives new songs. The Indians believe that Kle-khan-o'il has human shape, but he is clothed in cedar-bark, and wears a great many rings of cedar-bark.

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1884, p. 192.

7:Boas E-5 (1881-ca. 1890)900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

Some of these he gives to the shamen. . . . A third spirit is the Skata [Sxa'ɛxmɛx], which is believed to live in rivers, and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skata."

I believe this spirit is identical with LEMAITS, who, as stated before, has the second name Sxaiɛxmɛx. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the people initiated by them are not shamans, but ki'xsɛt dancers (see Chap. VI).

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition:—

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had four sons. The three older ones died. Then the father and mother and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had crossed the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I come to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch curved in the shape of a cane. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach any one, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side."

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca.1893)900 NEA Bellingcola NEA

539 He walked on, and after a while he noticed a man sitting at a distance.
756 Then he hid the switch under his arm. When he came near, he saw that
776 the man was a large green mountain-sheep. He hit it with his switch, and threw it to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have attained me as your supernatural helper. Your name shall be S'a'tcems [from 'a'tcems,' 'dead']. Many people have seen me, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not struck my mountain-sheep, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you knock the mountain-sheep from out of my arm, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will break the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the men whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

756 Other shamans are initiated by t'ent'spkt'ana. The same man who
776 gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts (see p. 38) told me that at another time he saw t'ent'spkt'ana flying in the air outside of his house. She wore a ring of red cedar-bark around her neck. She was turning round all the time. Songs were coming from all parts of her body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, as the shaman expressed it, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after meeting the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The st'ain, another helper of the shaman, and the means of curing diseases (see p. 28). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. When a person sees a st'ain, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. Its skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should scratch his hand backward, and thus he will find the leaf of a lily, which is the only thing that can cut its skin. He should not touch the st'ain with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing diseases. Sick people will buy small pieces of the s'ain, for which

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they pay high prices. The piece is thrown into water, in which it is kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons chew the white cedar-bark in which it is wrapped up, in order to regain health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the s!'ôtsa, is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal.

Tsē'lax.'it is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his moccasins, or his mountain staff moving ahead. The following tradition describes some of his characteristics:—

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Tsē'lax.'it watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ts!'lapala. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Tsē'lax.'it, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q!'pix. (that means a "horned mountain-cap"). Tsē'lax.'it reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Tsē'lax.'it arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Tsē'lax.'it asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Tsē'lax.'it made my arrows." Then Tsē'lax.'it was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?"—"Certainly!" replied Lynx. Then Tsē'lax.'it took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every

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to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the Elaxō'la dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'ā'lpsta (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of Baxbakuālanuxsi'wae of the Kwakiutl. Some Elaxō'la do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The Elaxō'la has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA. Bellacula.
Cat. No. 150000, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lex (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lex "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lex and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when the Elaxō'la gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū'siut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALXULĀ'TENUM (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Xē'mtsios and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā'nix and his fellows, the raven and the nusxē'mta, and many others.[1]

Fig. 201.
HEADDRESS OF ÓLALA'.
Haida.
Cat. No. 69838, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

THE TSIMSHIAN, NĪSQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the Hē'iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G-ITXĀ'LA, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The SEMHALAI'T, MĒILA', LŌLE'M, ÓLALA', NANĻSTĀ'T, HŌNANA'L, the last being the highest. The SEMHALAI'T is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 241, by F. Boas.